

Polish Migrants Citizen Attachments in the Context of Scottish Independent Referendum

Abstract:

This article focuses on the perspectives of Polish migrants with regards to their enfranchisement in the Scottish Independence Referendum. We examine their complex justifications for their participation in the referendum in terms of dependency, biographical subjectivism and contributist arguments and how they extend and illuminate these concepts in their narratives. The central argument we make, is that empirical research adds considerably to normative theoretical perspectives – through exploring the dilemmas, ethics and ambivalence that this historic event elicited in the narratives of Polish migrants living in Scotland. Rather than length of residence alone, it is the intention to stay and implications of this (in terms of contributionism, prologency etc) that is at the ethical core of our participants' justification for participation in the referendum.

Key words:

Citizenship; Polish migrants; voting rights; Scottish Independence Referendum;
Migration

Introduction:

While voting rights have traditionally been associated with citizenship, migration has

undermined the traditional ideas about how citizenship, residence and voting rights are connected. By crossing territorial borders, migrants create populations of foreign residents inside, and expatriate citizens outside the state territory. As a result, the inhabitants of nation states do not share the same citizenship rights. For that reason, Beckman (2006) indicates that the association of voting rights with citizenship works more in the direction of political exclusion and citizenship itself has become a source of unequal rights among inhabitants of the same country. This article engages with the debate concerning the relation between citizenship attachments, status and residence through exploring a particular group of migrants' reflections on these issues. While the debate on external voting rights and the citizenship attachments tends to focus on expatriates and non-citizen residents, this article will only concern the second group, namely Polish residents in Scotland and their citizenship attachments in the context of the historic event of the Scottish Independence Referendum in September 2014. This article will thus explore the Polish migrants' reflections associated with their citizenship attachments in the context of the independence referendum. Polish migrants are the largest minority in Scotland (55,231 in 2011) and hold diverse forms of citizenship rights and attachments. Poles as EU migrants are eligible to vote in sub-national elections including local and European Parliament elections, but also were invited as a consequence of the sub-national electoral rights in the EU to become active participants in deciding Scotland's future through the Independence referendum. In order to investigate Polish migrants' citizenship attachments, this article will explore how Poles explain and justify their involvement in the Scottish Independence Referendum. By examining migrants' intentions and experiences in the context of this referendum, this article will present migrants' perspectives on the normative principles that they consider pertinent with regards to the inclusion of

foreign residents in this historic referendum.

The debate on membership of a demos has sought to define the general principles of who should be included (as well as excluded) in the demos. By examining the normative principles of inclusion in the demos, political scientists have tried to answer the question whether it is possible for the demos to determine its own boundaries through the democratic procedures or application of democratic principles (see: Bauböck, 2005; 2009; 2010; Beckman, 2012). That is, the question is how to ensure, in the light of migration that all individuals subject to the democratic rules of a government in a given territory are also involved in the democratic processes of that country (collective process of decision making). In answering this question, political scientists tend to refer to the ‘all affected’ principle to articulate that all individuals who are affected and/or are subject to the rules of a government, should also democratically elect their country’s leaders. The term ‘affected’ however is often subject to debate and diverse interpretations. For example Beckman (2006) refers to contributivist, causal and legal views to suggest that all ‘affected’ are those who have a financial or economic stake in a polity (contributivist view), or those whose life prospects are affected by the laws and policies of a polity (casual view) and those who are subject to the legal authority of a government (legal view). The all affected principle has also been largely criticized for its over-inclusiveness and therefore being indifferent with regards to the boundaries of membership. However, Beckman (2006) argues that the vagueness of the all affected principle is no obstacle in assessing whether foreign resident should have voting rights. This is because, according to Beckman, the rights of foreign residents to participate in the democratic processes refer to all three (contributivist, causal and legal) interpretations of this principle. In

order to resolve the over-inclusiveness of all-affected principle, Bauböck proposed the 'stakeholdership principle' that is best described as expressing an interest in membership that makes an individual's fundamental rights dependent on the protection of a particular polity and that ties an individual's well-being to the common good of the polity (2005: 686). With the stakeholder principle, the criteria for inclusion derives from the link between the individual's life prospects and the common good of the political community. Following from Bauböck, those individuals who have a stake, depend on the political community for the long-term protection of their basic rights (dependency criterion), or have been subjected to that community's political authorities for a significant period of time over the course of their lives (biographical subjection criteria) (2009: 479). Bauböck's biographical subjection criteria correspond with Beckman's causal and legal interpretations of the all affected principle. As such, individuals who have a stake in the political community should have a claim for the citizenship rights including the voting rights in that community. The stakeholder principle proposed by Bauböck (2005, 2007, 2009) resolves some of the problems of the over-inclusiveness of the all affected principle, by stressing that not all those 'affected' have individual interests linked to the common good of the political community or have been long term subjects of the political community. While Bauböck (2009) provides two criteria: dependency and biographical subjection for defining stakeholdership, he does not examine stakeholdership from the perspective of the stakeholders, in particular the relationship between stakeholdership and assumed obligation to political community.

While Bauböck (2009) argues for voting rights to be an integrated part of citizenship status, Kostakopoulou (2008) proposed replacing citizenship with the civic

registration of residents in the area of one's domicile, which is defined in terms of the intention of making a place a permanent home. By examining the future of the citizenship attributions, Kostakopoulou (2008) argues for citizenship to be based on shared future, in this context - the factual residency, rather than shared past— in terms of, for example, nationality is privileged. Similar to Kostakopoulou, Favell (2010) indicates that entitlement to citizenship rights has been largely detached from nationality and thus the status of resident has overshadowed the status of citizen. While Kostakopoulou and Favell focus on the relation between citizenship and nationality, Delanty (1997) theorizes diverse forms of citizenship that goes beyond the spatial domain of nationality. Delanty argues that citizenship is more than rights and other dimensions such as duties or responsibilities, participation in a broader sense, and identity should also be included in the definition of citizenship. These dimensions in sum express the different aspects of what membership of a political community entails (Delanty, 1997: 286). Given the complexity of citizenship attributions as well as importance of the debates about how membership in democracy should be defined, our research responds to the need for further research to understand the eligibility criteria underpinning stakeholderhood in a given political community from the perspective of migrant stakeholders. By so doing it will examine Polish migrants forms of citizenship attachments and potential corresponding obligations to participate in a political community that might derive from their stakeholderhood. For that reason, this study will investigate how Polish migrants reflect upon being a stakeholder in the Scottish Independence referendum and whether the dependency, biographical subjection and contributist criteria are pertinent in migrants' perspectives on their participation in the referendum. While political scientist tend to refer to the political theory and legal frameworks in supporting or

rejecting electoral rights beyond citizenship, this study focuses more on the experiences, discourses and practices of foreign residents, namely Poles in Scotland in the context of Scottish Independence referendum. This paper will thus advance the studies on citizenship attachment by bringing insights derived from migrants' narratives to the fore. Our contribution is to provide greater understanding of how migrants define and justify their intention to 'act on' their attachment to the political community.

The data presented in this paper derives from the study funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (**Grant number to be inserted**). The findings presented in this paper are based on 24 semi-structured interviews with post accession¹ Polish migrants in Edinburgh and Glasgow, who were eligible to vote in the Scottish Independence Referendum. Participants included in this study were selected in response to an online survey. The survey questionnaire was distributed through diverse channels including Polish community organisations, Polish businesses and Polish online networks across Scotland. Our interview sample was selected from the list of volunteers who expressed their interest in taking part in the follow up interviews and from participants contacted directly by the research team. Participants (12 interviews in each location) varied in terms of gender, age, education, marital and employment statuses. The purpose of the interviews was to explore Polish migrants forms of engagement, attitudes, experiences, opinions and perceptions in relation to their participation in the independence referendum. Our overarching question was to explore whether Polish migrants will participate in the Scottish Independence

¹ Post accession migrants are the citizens of the eight countries that joined the EU in 2004 (Czech, Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia).

Referendum and how do they justified their participation. The interviews thus provided an opportunity to gather data on how Polish migrants give meaning to their experiences and how these meanings are illustrative of their stakeholdership in Scotland (and in the UK), as well as, in some cases, their stake in European citizenship. A thematic analysis of the interview transcript was undertaken using a technique advocated by Boyatzis (1998). Initially, an overview thematic grid was produced to identify and collate migrants' views on the topics discussed. Relevant sections of the transcripts were then assigned appropriate thematic codes and refined sub-categories emerged.

The paper will include three sections focusing on data analysis. In first instance this article will focus on how Polish migrants define and understand their stakeholdership in the Scottish Independence Referendum. By so doing, this section will discuss the extent to which dependency, biographical subjection and contributist criteria are pertinent in migrants' perspectives on their participation in the referendum.

Following from that, this article will illustrate and discuss Polish migrants diverse forms of citizenship attachment. The final section will focus on relations between Polish migrants voting right in the Scottish Independence Referendum and their actual voting behaviours.

Polish Migrants Stakeholdership in the Scottish Independence Referendum

Following Bauböck (2009), the question of whether migrants should have a claim on citizenship rights (including voting rights) depends on their 'stake' in the country of the residence. According to Bauböck's biographical subjection criteria migrants' stake and thus claim to the voting rights is related to the length of residence in the

country of settlement. In our research we found that our participants employed similar criteria when defining their voting rights. However, they extended the length of stay criteria to include another criteria: intention to stay, as a key criteria for justifying their participating in the Scottish Independence Referendum. For example, period of residence criteria as well as intention to stay and settle in the country of residence, were identified by Mario as the main conditions whereby migrants should gain voting rights:

If you're not planning on staying here but you decide to vote, and you play a trick on somebody, then I think it's inappropriate. (...) I would prefer if all immigrants were given the right to vote after five years of living and getting to know this country, and not after a year. After five years you can identify yourself with a region or town, and not like in the case of that Spanish girl, who popped in here for a year and will be off after that. She probably only came here because she needed to do an English course for work. She hasn't really got enough knowledge to decide about the country she has been in for such a short period of time.

Mario, 41, Driver, Glasgow

Mario explains that the rights to vote should be given to those residents who are living in the country of residence for several years and have the intention to reside there permanently. From Mario's perspective, a certain period of time (five years) was required to accumulate necessary knowledge of social and cultural rules, norms and regulations and thus contribute to a migrants ability to make an accountable decision in the referendum. For Mario (as for many of our participants), obtaining voting rights

requires both migrants' long-term residence and their willingness to link their future with the country of their residence. Mario's justification reflects Bauböck (2009) assertion that migrants long-term and indented permanent residency results in their individual interests being linked on a long-term basis to the common good of the community. In that sense, long-term and intended permanent residency gives our participants a sense of subjective claim to membership of their country of residence and thus justifies their participation (voting) in the referendum. For that reason, those participants who despite being residents for a number of years but were uncertain about their continuing residence in Scotland in the future, took an 'ethical stance' on whether they should participate or not in the referendum. For example, Adam who was undecided about a potential move to Finland at the time of the interview expressed his ethical dilemma over participation in the independence referendum:

I don't know yet, because if I was to go away, then I don't think ethically I have the right to do so. If I stay, then absolutely, I'll be voting.

Adam, 32, Driver, Glasgow

From Adam's perspective, those migrants who are planning to move away from Scotland, and therefore no longer link their personal interest with this country, should not be eligible to vote in the referendum or hold the voting rights. Our participants' intention to stay corresponds with Bauböck's dependency criteria for establishing individuals' stakeholdreship, where those individuals (and only those) who depend on that community for long-term protection of their basic rights (2009:479) should have access to certain citizenship rights. In justifying their rationales for having a say in the independence referendum, our participant also referred to being subject to the laws and policies of the country of residence and that for this reason they should be able to

vote and express their political preferences. For example, Olek indicated that as a resident in Scotland, he is subject to the laws and policies of his country of residence and therefore should participate in their making:

Firstly, I live in this country and, as I say, I'm planning to stay here for now.

I'm planning my future here and so whether Scotland becomes independent or stays within the UK, it'll affect people's lives and the entire society, and it will also affect me.

Olek, 33, Researcher, Edinburgh

Here, the perception of migrants' right to vote in the independence referendum is justified by the fact that they have been subjected to political authorities in Scotland (which we refer to as 'subjection biographical criteria') for a significant period over the course of their lives. As the outcome of the referendum will affect our participants' life prospects, they feel justified in taking part in the referendum. In so doing, our participants emphasise the 'subjection' and the 'biographical' alongside the 'length of stay' criteria in their justification of their stakeholdership with regards to the referendum. The rationale provided by Olek implies that being a subject of a government's (or a future governments) policies and laws entails rights to participate in deciding on who that future government should be. A similar view was shared by Adam:

Those who are directly concerned and will be affected should have the right to vote. I think it's really good that the right to vote is given to people who live here. (...) I agree with the rule that those who are directly concerned and who live here have the right to vote, regardless of the passport they hold.

Adam, 32, Driver, Glasgow

Both Olek and Adam argued that being affected and subjected to laws, policies and legislations provide a reasonable justification for them to have a say in their making. Both responses suggest that it is reasonable that individuals who are subjected to the state politics over significant periods of should be eligible to participate in collective decision-making processes.

The participants further ‘unpacked’ the biographical subjection criteria presented by Bauböck through their emphasis on the link between eligibility and their impact and contribution to Scotland. For example Daniel articulated a number of economic, social and cultural contributions that Polish migrants make:

We live here, we pay taxes, we participate in public life, I think it's actually advisable for us to take part in issues that are important. It's very important and for this reason we should vote, we will live here so we should vote and have an influence on shaping the reality, a lot of people are here long term. They start families, they have children here, they take decisions for the next generation, if you live here and your children are born in this country, they will be a part of this society, there will be an element of Scottish culture in them so people should definitely participate and vote.

Daniel, 32, web designer, Edinburgh

Daniel's claim to voting rights in the referendum follows the contributivist view (Beckman, 2006), where the inclusion of all foreign residents that participate in the

economy and contribute to the public finances in forms of taxation, labour or property ownership, should be allowed. Daniel's justification for Polish residents in Scotland having a say in the independence referendum extends Beckman's thesis, to also include social, cultural and future demographic contributions that Polish migrants already make and could make in the future country of their residence. Indeed, Bauböck (2014) argues that membership in the polity depends not only on the fact of individual having a 'genuine' link to that polity but also the nature of this link. This implies that foreign residents lives are not only subject to the legislations and politics of their country of residence but also they are affected in socio-economic terms as they establish economic links and social bonds within the country of their residence including their progeny becoming part of Scotland's future. According to Daniel, long-term Polish residents in Scotland are already integrated in their country of residence, therefore their inclusion in the independence referendum should be expected. This was also articulated by Olek:

I think it would not be a sensible move to stay passive and it wouldn't be a right thing to do not to vote. Because if we, Polish people, are really thinking of staying and living here, and have our say in the history of Scotland.... Obviously we have our families here and our children will in fact be Scottish, so I think we should take responsibility in shaping the future, and that's why I decided to take part in the referendum. I think it's very important ..

Olek, 33, Researcher, Edinburgh

Here, Olek's justification again refers to the idea that the political rights should be granted to all who are subject to the authority of the government. In his reasoning

Olek also articulates the reciprocal relation between the duty to obey the law by foreign residents but also having a right to participate in making it. According to Olek, the act of voting refers to the sense of duty that is articulated in terms of being responsible for the future of ones 'adopted' country but also the desire to be active in shaping its future. Indeed, participants had common recognition that the voting rights in the independence referendum should be given to those who are long term and intended permanent residents in Scotland as they are subjected to the legal and political actions of the political authorities in Scotland but also because their lives are affected in socio-economic terms for a significant period over the course of their life and this will be potentially extended to the lives of their progeny. These interpretations illustrated in migrants' narratives thus introduce a compelling generational and futurist aspects to the contributist and biographical subjection criteria. Despite participants expressing perspectives supporting aspects of Bauböck's (2005, 2009) stakeholdership principle in justifying their rationales for the voting rights in the independence referendum, they did not consider the voting rights as an integrated part of 'natural' citizen rights. For example, Monica explained why she considered that the rights to take part in the political elections should be granted to those who are living in the country and should not be limited to only citizens:

I think that the right to vote should be given to people who live in the country and not just to its nationals; or to those who're planning to move or come back to the country (...) I'm taking part because, even though nothing is for certain, the chances of me leaving this country are very small. I don't think I'll be going back to Poland; if anything I might move somewhere else in Scotland. For the time being I can see myself living here and so it feels totally

natural to want to take part in the referendum. Scotland has is a very old country but its future lies in the hands of those who live here.

Monica, 30, civil servant, Glasgow

The long-term physical presence in the country of residence was considered by Monica as one of the main conditions in determining who should be enfranchised in the political elections. According to Monica, voting rights should be determined by individual residency that is considered to be permanent rather than by nationality. As Monica considered herself as a long-term resident with intentions to stay in Scotland, it seemed *natural* for her to have a say over Scotland's future, since she will be part of that future even if not offered 'Scottish' citizenship post-independence (if the vote had been Yes). Here, the intention for permanent residence creates the virtue of Monica's membership and therefore a life-long interest in the future of Scotland, which according to Bauböck (2009) supports the claim for citizenship rights, including the voting rights. While Bauböck (2009) argues for voting rights to be an integrated part of citizenship rights, this assertion was not shared by our participants. According to Monica, voting rights should indeed be given to those whose life is tied up with the future of their country of residence but should not be limited to only citizens. Monica's perspectives correspond to academic arguments with regards to uncoupling the citizenship rights from nationality. In a sense participants such as Monica are exhibiting an understanding and rationalization with regards to the enfranchisement of foreign residents akin to Kostakopoulou's proposal (2008) for replacing citizenship with the civic registration of residents. For Kostakopoulou, instead of citizenship being based on nationality, it should be based on the civil

registration in the area of one's primary domicile, which is defined in terms of the intention of making a place a permanent home.

While the participants were able to articulate the rationales with regards to why they should have a say in the independence referendum, there was lack of agreement as to whether the right to vote in their country of residence should preclude them from voting in their home country. Polish residents in Scotland have relevant stakes in more than one polity. As Polish citizens, Polish residents in Scotland hold expatriate voting rights in Poland and as EU citizens, they have a sub-national (local and European Parliament election and referenda) voting rights in other EU states where they take up residence. For example, Franciszek in the exchange below indicates that as a Polish citizen he still has a duty to take part in the national elections in Poland.

From what I remember I have taken part in all elections since I was entitled to vote. I'm talking about presidential elections in Poland, and parliamentary and local government ones too.

Researcher: But this rule of having to live in a place in order to vote which you have just talked about, doesn't it apply to you voting in Polish elections?

Franciszek: But I am still a Polish citizen – this is a reason why I want to be able to decide on things that take place there...

Franciszek, 31, architect, Glasgow

Franciszek was one of those participants who expressed multiple stakes and a desire in participating in multiple polities. For Franciszek, being able to vote in Scotland should not preclude Polish residents in Scotland from casting their votes in national

elections in Poland. Owen (2009) argues that citizens living abroad are still subject to the authorities of their home country (and thus have a stake), even if most of their rights and duties will remain inactive until they re-take residence in the state's territory. Polish residents in Scotland could therefore be described as 'political transnationalists' (Bauböck, 2003: 700) who enjoy overlapping memberships that creates different claims in the country of origin and country of residence. This political transnationalism was not however articulated by all participants, for example Monica indicated that as a permanent resident of Scotland she has little stake in Poland and therefore should not take part in political elections in Poland:

Researcher: Did you vote in Polish national election?

Monica: No, I didn't, because I don't think I should do if I don't live there (...)

I think it's not my business and that I shouldn't interfere.

Monica, 30, civil servant, Glasgow

The result of our online survey indicated that many Poles who have settled in Scotland shared Monica's view (see the authors, 2014b). That is, our survey indicated that despite Poles having the right to participate and vote in both sub-national elections in the UK and national elections in Poland, most of our participants, vote in one or the other, not both.

Polish Migrants Stakeholdership and Citizenship attachments

Anna was one of interviewees who participated in elections in both Scotland and Poland. She described her participation in Polish elections as a 'duty', associated with

protecting the interest of her remaining family in Poland. However, her enfranchisement in the Scottish Independence referendum was perceived as a privilege:

Because I see it as my privilege. I perceive any elections in Poland as my duty but here I haven't got British citizenship yet... I will apply for it at some point but not just yet (...) Yes, my duty in Poland as it is my homeland where I was brought up; my parents and grandparents live there; I have a duty to prevent something that's bad in my opinion from happening or support something I believe is good. Here I see it as my privilege and not my duty or legal obligation because I've been here for six years. Initially I was a guest here and was welcomed with open arms. So I don't think it's that obvious that Polish people can vote here and decide on the future of the country. What's quite strange is that this privilege is granted to us because of the fact that we're EU members.

Anna, 42, Teacher of German language, Glasgow

By explaining the difference between privilege and duty to vote Anna gave examples of different forms of attachment toward her country of origin and the country of residence. These however illustrate different dimensions (privilege versus duty) of what membership in different political communities entails. Anna also indicated that her enfranchisement in the independence referendum was given voluntarily through the EU membership. Despite most participants not considering voting rights as being an integral part of citizenship, they also recognized different dimensions of citizenship and the rights of residents:

If someone comes to visit he stops being a guest after some time. It becomes problematic and annoying when these guests don't take part in housework, for instance washing up sometimes, cooking etc. It annoys me a little that some emigrants have this attitudes that we must be quiet, calm and we can't say anything. I think there are areas which we can speak about, but there needs to be a certain moderation, because I can't compete, because I'm here only 8 years, I don't feel to be true-born Scottish and I probably wouldn't call myself that, maybe if I had a passport, but it's more about what I feel inside, I don't think that I have no right to decide and vote, especially when it comes to things which are close to me, for instance local government elections, parliament elections

Marek, Psychotherapist, 44, Edinburgh

Marek's perception is that while traditionally citizenship laws of democratic states are based on birth rights, these rights should not be considered as a sufficient condition for political participation. Here, Marek makes a reference to inclusion into two distinct units: national citizenship (*true born Scots*) and political community (*the local and parliamentary electorate*). For Marek the eligibility criteria for inclusion in the political community differ from that of the citizen. The former relates to participation in self-governing political communities, the latter relates to collective identities and common ties. Mark's reasoning corresponds with Delanty's (1997) distinctive dimensions of citizenship. In that sense, residence rights refer to membership in a political community and are primarily defined by rights and participation in that political community. Following from Delanty (1997), there is more to citizenship than

just rights other dimensions including identity also define citizenship. By recognising the difference between citizen and resident rights, Marek is adamant that voting rights should not be limited to national citizens. In the context of the Scottish Independence Referendum, the distinction between residence and citizenship rights had however further implications for Polish residents in Scotland who despite being eligible to take part in the referendum were not considered as putative citizens of Scotland. Indeed the issue regarding to what in terms of citizenship or status will result from a Yes vote for independence in Scotland was discussed by number of our participants, including Agata:

It's interesting that even though we weren't born in this country, we can still vote. I spoke to a good friend of mine yesterday. He's 65, British, and he said that the fact that foreigners are allowed to vote doesn't mean that they will be given Scottish passports afterwards. He thinks that this is not right and believes that it would only be OK if foreigners were allowed to vote and then be given Scottish citizenship, but – as it's not the case – what will my status here be if Scotland becomes an independent country?

Agata, 30, social worker, Edinburgh

Agata's narrative highlights the lack of congruence between those who are eligible to take part in the Scottish Independence referendum and those who are considered as potential citizen of Scotland. That is, our participants find themselves in an odd position who as an EU residents in Scotland, they are eligible to participate in the constitutive political act of potentially establishing a new state but would not be recognised as a putative citizens of that new state and furthermore they were at risk of loosing their rights to stay in the new state as a knock on effect of future membership

of Scotland in the EU. This lack of congruence between eligibility for participation in independence referendums and eligibility for citizenship in the potential new Independent State was also articulated by Ziegler (2014). This however should not be understood as Agata's desire to acquire citizenship, but instead the desire to have her status (in terms of rights and responsibility) be clearly defined. This was also indicated by the authors (2014a) that Poles' 'stakeholdership' in the future of Scotland did not seem to follow Bauböck's assumptions that limited (sub-national) voting rights could lead to naturalization by application (Bauböck, 2005: 686). Instead, the participants, like Agata, articulated the desire to have their legal status, or what Shaw calls 'long-term alienage' (2007:70-71) clearly defined and articulated in a potentially independent Scotland. In that sense, clarification of foreign resident status (rights and responsibilities) was more salient than naturalisation for many of our participants.

Polish Migrants' Voting Rights and Voting Behaviours

While our participants were able to articulate the rationales for their enfranchisement in the independence referendum, the decision as to whether or not to take part in the referendum were more complex. Like Adam above, Agata's dilemmas with regards to whether she should have the right to vote was a matter of the permanence of her residence in Scotland:

I want to participate because I have lived here for a while now, at the same time I ask myself whether it's a fair thing to do because I can't say for sure that I'll stay here ..

Agata, Social Worker, 30, Edinburgh

As noted above, one of the conditions acting on the voting rights in the referendum was the intention for permanent stay in the country of residence. Despite Agata at the point of interview not having plans to migrate from Scotland, she like Adam still questioned her entitlements to take part in the independence referendum, as she was not in the position to declare whether or not she will settled in Scotland for good. Some of our participants' perspectives concurred with suggestions that the Scottish Referendum franchise was over-inclusive in granting a vote to other resident EU and Commonwealth citizens. For example, some of our participants believed that their long-term residence in Scotland did not provide them with moral and political legitimacy for taking part in the referendum. These participants tended to exclude themselves from voting in the referendum. For example, Jan indicated that he would not cast his vote as he did not feel eligible to do so:

I prefer to leave the decision about the future of the country to people who live here. I don't entirely understand Scotland. I don't entirely understand Scotland. I know that they had constantly fought for their freedom, so if it was to make them happy, let them be independent. It's nor for me to say. I've come here to take care of my own life and it's not my place to have opinions or say what better or worse thing to do is (...) Yes, I have the right to vote but ethically.... Is seven years here enough....?

Jan, 57, warehouse operator, Glasgow

Despite Jan living in Scotland for seven years, he felt that his physical presence in the country of residence was not sufficient for claiming the voting rights and thus participation in the referendum. Similar to Jan, Jędrzej explained that he had not yet established long-term and genuine links with his country of residence and therefore he decided not to cast his vote in the referendum:

I haven't made a final decision, from the ideological point of view I would rather not vote since it's not my country, I don't feel Scottish, I don't understand their tradition

Jędrzej, 27, warehouse operator, Glasgow

Jan and Jędrzej in comparison to Monica or Daniel suggest that they have not developed a sufficient forms of attachment to Scotland despite being resident for a similar length of time (about seven years). In a sense, participants such as Jan and Jędrzej are also exhibiting the relevance of the stakeholdership principle, as they did not feel attached to Scotland (despite both being long-term residents) and thus did not have a sufficient stake to participate in deciding the outcome of the referendum. This means that stakeholdership can be matter of migrant's perception with regards to how one's stake is perceived and defined in relation to diverse forms of attachments to the country of residence. To illustrate this point, some of our participants' decisions as to whether to vote in the referendum or not were dependent upon their perceived interest (or stake) in the outcome of the Scottish Independence referendum. For example Karolina explains the salience of the referendum on Scotland's and her own future:

Because I live in this country and the outcome of the referendum is going to have a huge impact on the history of this country – in the country where I live

now and perhaps will live in the future too (...) It is a big change, and I'm actually interested in it

Karoline, 33, HR advisor, Glasgow

Participants decision's on not casting their vote in the referendum also depended on whether they had an interest (stake) in the outcome of the Scottish independence referendum. Lack of established links and thus an insufficient stake in the country of residence expressed by Jan and Jędrzej in comparison to Karolina is however problematic and may stem from their lack of social and economic integration in their country of residence.

As well as participants who voted to protect their stake (in terms of maintaining their standard of living and quality of life) some participants like Edyta, were more passive and were resigned to letting others decide the future of Scotland:

If I was to vote in the referendum, I wonder what difference it would make....

I'm here and will adjust to whatever will be decided... what I am to change here....?

Edyta, 56, cleaner, Glasgow

What our data from our admittedly small scale research project suggest is that the concern with regards to the over inclusiveness of the Scottish referendum franchise many not in fact have resulted in an over inclusiveness effect. What was clear from our research was that participants self-excluded themselves from taking part in the referendum if they considered themselves as not to having a sufficient stake in the future outcome of the referendum. Having a right to vote and taking part in the referendum however had further implications for participants' greater civic

integration. For example, Dawid indicated that having accumulated greater ‘country knowledge’ in the process of engaging in referendum debates had had a positive impact on him feeling more attached to his country of residence:

I also have to say that the referendum forced me to seek information and ask questions. The more I know, the more attached I feel to this country, the bigger my knowledge about this country, the more familiar and homelike it becomes.

Dawid, 29, warehouse cleaner, Edinburgh

Other participants, like Marta perceived her voting rights in the referendum as a ‘gesture’ and recognition of migrants’ presence and contribution to the host country:

I think it has been a token of trust on the part of the government. I think it was a very valid and positive gesture, because no matter how you look at it, the immigrants who come here not only join the army of labourers but also settle down here and contribute to the economy, plan their lives here and shape the culture of the country, and so I think they should totally have the right to vote as well.

Marta, 28, Web Developer, Glasgow

Here the perception of Marta's right to vote in the referendum is regarded as a sign of appreciation and recognition of migrants as integrated members of the host community. This however emphasizes the role of host countries in creating possibilities and assisting migrants in accessing their rights. For example Szymon

indicates the two-way relation between migrants' civic participation and the host country creating opportunity for migrants to participate in political processes:

It's fantastic that those who live here can vote, regardless of their documents, it's unthinkable, I was really surprised by this and I think it's great. I probably wouldn't care if they didn't allow me to vote, but it's really inclusive that they let me vote, if the Polish community couldn't vote they wouldn't care about the whole debate and it's the opposite because Scots who don't live in Scotland can't vote, it's interesting, it's good. I agree with this. If you live here and want to live here – decide.

Szymon, 32, HR adviser, Edinburgh

According to Szymon, there is a relationship between the extent to which Polish migrants will 'care' about the referendum because they have been enfranchised to decide on the fate of Scotland. Thus, inclusion in civic processes for Szymon, also Dawid and Marta has increased their familiarity with a sense of recognition and value in their country of residence. This has also give them justification and permission to express their stake in the future of Scotland.

Conclusion

In this article we explore Polish migrants attitudes to the Scottish Referendum franchise. By so doing, this article illustrates the pertinence of Beckman's (2006) contributivist and Bauböck's (2009) biographical subjectivism and dependency

criteria in participants' justifications in taking part in the Scottish Independence Referendum. Our participants had common recognition that obtaining voting rights requires both migrants' long-term residence and their willingness to link their future with the country of their residence. That is, the length of stay criteria also included another condition: intention to stay, as criteria for participating in the Scottish Independence Referendum. Long-term and intended residency implied that our participants were subjected to legal and political actions but also were affected in socio-economic terms for a significant period over the course of their life and this would be potentially extended to the lives of their progeny. These interpretations however extend understandings of Beckman's and Bauböck's criteria to introduce a compelling generational and futurist aspects to the contributist and biographical subjection criteria.

This article critically engages with Bauböck's stakeholdership principle (2005, 2009) by illustrating migrants' understandings and perspectives of their stakeholdership in the Scottish Independence Referendum. Whereas our participants articulate their stakeholdership in the future Scotland in making their subjective claim for participation (voting) in the Independence referendum, they did not support Bauböck's (2005, 2009) assertion that voting rights should be integrated part of the citizenship rights. Instead, participants articulated that the voting rights should indeed be given to those whose lives are tied up with their future country of residence and thus should not be limited to citizens. This could imply that suffrage should not be the privilege of citizens and that political rights should be more generally available for the permanent foreign residents.

This study also illustrates complex forms of migrants' citizenship attachments. There

was lack of agreement amongst our participants whether the right to vote in their country of residence should preclude them from voting in their home country. That is, not all participants expressed political transnationalism (Bauböck, 2003) with regard to taking part in both sub-national elections in the UK and national elections in Poland. Despite our participants did not considering the voting rights to be an integrated part of citizenship rights, they also articulated the substantive differences between citizen and residence rights and the eligibility criteria for inclusion in the political community and as citizens. Our participants privilege residence rights stemming from their membership in political community that entails rights and some degree of participation in that community. Citizenship however, for our participants includes additional dimensions such as identity and common ties and therefore should not be considered in uniform terms. This understanding of membership entitlements corresponds with Denalty's (1997) assertion that citizenship is more than rights and that it should be also defined by duties, participation and identity. Furthermore, the distinction between resident and citizen rights in the context of the Scottish Independence Referendum resulted in Polish migrants not being considered as putative citizen of Scotland, despite their eligibility to take part in the referendum which was to decide the future of the UK and Scotland (Ziegler, 2014). This however did not result in participants desire to acquire citizenship in Scotland. Instead of naturalisation, the clarification of foreign resident status (rights and responsibilities) was more salient for many of our participants.

By examining migrants' experiences and reflections on their multiple citizenship attachments this article offers greater understanding of the transformation of traditional state-centric concepts of citizenship rights into broader overlapping circles

of membership affiliations. What is clear from our study was that those participants, who were indifferent in their decision or perceived not to have a stake in the future of Scotland, excluded themselves from taking part in the elections. Lack of sufficient stake for claiming the voting rights according to some of our participants related to their lack of attachments to Scotland. Lack of developed forms of attachments despite migrants' long-term residency can be problematic and may indicate migrants socio-economic exclusion in their country of residence. This however raises the questions as to how to justify the stakeholdership (and thus subjective claim to voting rights) amongst long-term foreign residents who do not develop a suffice stake in their country of residence? Further investigation is therefore needed to explore the relationship between migrant's integration (including socio-economic integration) and political participation in their country of residence.

Finally, despite being a small-scale study, what our study shows is that a right to vote and take part in the referendum could have further implications for our migrants' greater civic integration expressed in their increased familiarity with the political processes in their country of residence or sense of recognition and value in their country of residence. This could imply that rather than over inclusiveness the inclusion off foreign-born residents in the political processes in their country of residence through granting them political rights could result in forging a greater sense of belonging to polity (Mason, 2000) an thus enhancing their sense of attachement to their country of residence.

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